AFRICA: FREEDOM'S GREAT BATTLEGROUND--SPECIAL TWO-PAGE FEATURE, 6 & 7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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NEW YORK, APRIL 13, 1959

Both sides seen set for a summit despite Pentagon big-mouths

DURING THE WEEK of March 30-April 4, Washington played host to all its Western allies. The Big Three and the West German foreign ministers spent two days trying to hammer out a common approach for the May 11 East-West foreign ministers conference in Geneva. They later conferred with the representatives of other NATO nations and marked NATO's 10th anniversary.

The discussions were held behind closed doors. In their public pronouncements and in the NATO communique, the Western powers maintained a show of solidarity—and inflexibility. Differences were known to have existed, however, and a variety of proposals to meet the Soviet challenge were reported made.

The NATO communique itself stated that at two later meetings—April 13 in London and April 29 in Paris—American, British, French and West German diplomats will try to reconcile "the views expressed at the [Washington] meetings" and "adjust differences" before May 11.

THE PROPOSALS: Disengagement, and the role of the foreign ministers at the May meeting, seemed to be the chief bones of contention. The British, under terrific pressure from the Americans, the French and the West Germans, were said to be weakening on their proposal for a "thinning out" of East-West forces at the closest point of contact.

They stuck to their contention, however, that a deadlock at Geneva would make a summit meeting all the more imperative; the other three were reportedly still reluctant to hold a top-level meeting unless the foreign ministers reached some basic agreements.

Among the reported proposals for discussion on May 11 were these:

- Canada suggested stationing UN

(Continued on Page 10)

NEXT WEEK

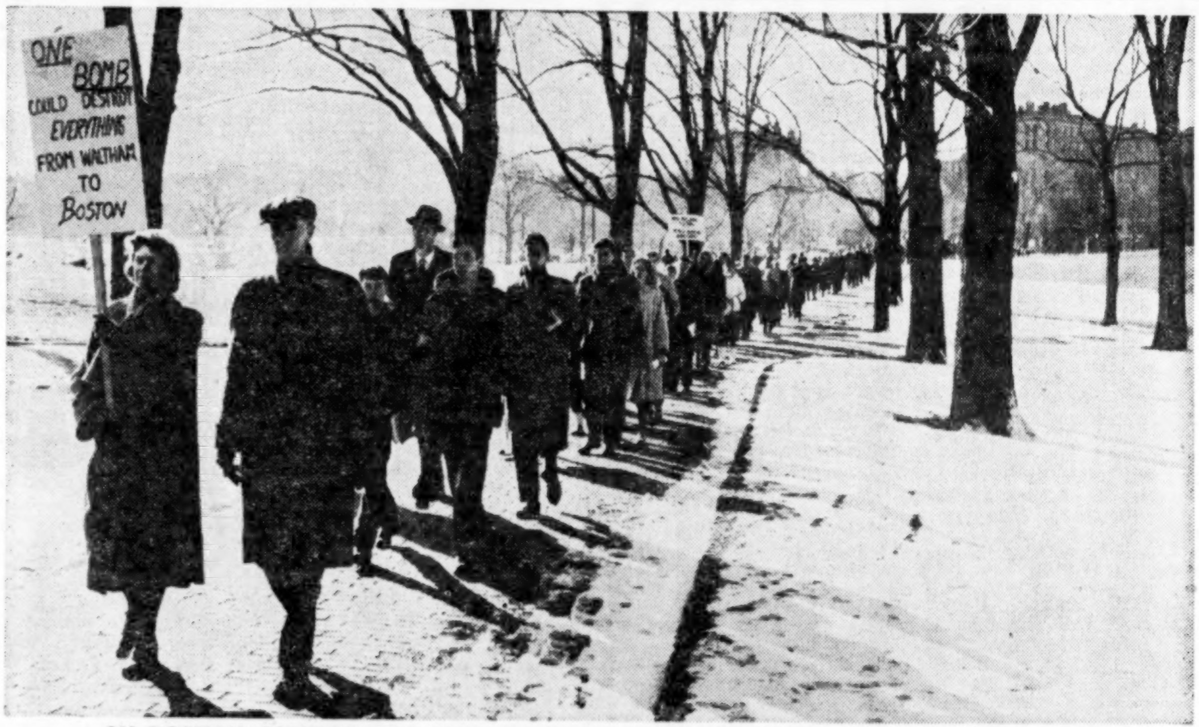
Middle East Special

MONOPOLY EGYPT
By Tabitha Petran

THE ARAB FUTURE
An inside report

RETURN TO ISRAEL
By Ursula Wassermann

Don't miss these unusual articles: You get them only in the Guardian



ON BOSTON COMMON THE PAUL REVERES OF '59 ALERT THE TOWN TO A NEW DANGER
It was an Act for Peace and for an end to the Bomb tests—part of a nationwide demonstration. And in their hearts was the same love of life—for themselves and their fellow men—which possessed the Minutemen of '76. For details, see p. 3

ARGUMENTS HEARD ON 'SECURITY' PROGRAM

High Court weakens double jeopardy rule

By Louis E. Burnham

IN ITS RECENT double jeopardy ruling the Supreme Court all but stripped the individual citizen of what has long been considered a built-in protection against harassment by vindictive and ambitious government prosecutors. A sharply divided Court decided on March 30 that "two sovereignties"—the Federal government and the state governments—may now subject the same citizen to separate and successive trials for the same alleged criminal offenses.

The Court's action was such a sharp reversal of what Americans have traditionally regarded a constitutional birthright that even its bitterest reactionary foes were shocked. The Scripps-Howard N. Y. **World-Telegram** complained that the Court had ruled that "the Bill of Rights doesn't mean what it says," and urged that the decision be reversed, by constitutional amendment if necessary.

The New York **Mirror** lamented that "by diminishing the protection against trying a man twice for the same crime, much more than a bank robber's freedom has been put in jeopardy."

ACQUITTED & CONVICTED: The Court majority, in a decision written by Justice Felix Frankfurter, decided that neither the Fifth Amendment provision against double jeopardy nor the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of due process were violated by multiple prosecutions in two cases at issue.

In the first case Alfonse Bartkus had been acquitted by a Federal court jury in 1953 of the charge of robbing a Federally-insured savings and loan association in Cicero, Ill. Federal prosecutors not only turned their evidence over to Illinois officials, but secured additional evidence and witnesses, which led to Bartkus' conviction in a state court.

Joining Justice Frankfurter in upholding the validity of the second trial were Justices Tom C. Clark, John Marshall Harlan, Charles Evans Whittaker and Potter Stewart. Justice William Brennan dissented, not because he objected to separate trials by state and Federal governments, but because he believed that Federal collusion in the state action made the two prosecutions really one.

MENACE TO MINORITIES: For the majority, Justice Frankfurter cited precedents to show that: (1) the first eight Amendments of the Bill of Rights were

(Continued on Page 4)

TEMPEST IN A TURBINE

GE and Westinghouse wrap the flag around profits

By Robert E. Light

THE BUY AMERICAN ACT was passed in 1933 as an anti-depression measure. It gives preference to American manufacturers in bidding for government contracts except when foreign bids are "substantially" lower. "Substantially" has been interpreted as 6 to 10 per cent below domestic offers. But if the competition is in an industry where Americans are suffering heavy unemployment, domestic companies are allowed a 12 per cent advantage. And if "national security" is involved, the government may reject all foreign bids outright.

Wording of the law is vague, and often when American companies are underbid by overseas firms they claim "national security" is endangered because they will have to cut back production. Last September, for example, the low American bid for two hydraulic turbines for an Army dam project at Greer's Ferry, Ark., came from Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton Co. of Philadelphia.

"NATIONAL SECURITY": It was 19 per cent higher than the offer from the English Electric Co. of London. Under pressure from Pennsylvania Congressmen, who pointed to the state's heavy unemployed rolls, the contract was awarded to Baldwin "to protect national security interests." It was held that if the contract did not go to the American firm, "domestic productive capacity . . . would be reduced to a level inadequate for emergency requirements." English Electric's argument that Baldwin could keep its machines busy "by effective competition . . . for a fair share of the adequate turbine business" was to no avail.

But foreign companies are getting some American business. In the last few years 175 electrical generating equipment contracts have been awarded to overseas firms by Federal, state and city

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A WALK IN TOGO
See the Spectator . . . . .p. 12

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Too much prosperity

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Erich Fromm and John Kenneth Galbraith, among others, hold that in modern capitalist society the working people have been driven to restlessness by too much prosperity.

From the U.S. Treasury Dept.'s "Individual Income Tax Returns" for the boom year of 1956 (latest statistics available): 18.4% of the returns reported gross incomes of less than $1,500; 39.1% less than $3,000; 53.2% less than $4,000. Any family with an income less than $4.000 in 1956 had to be ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed. If that's "too much prosperity," what's impoverishment?

Cynthia Speare

Negroes in government

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Probably the only reader you have in Washington, D.C., with such ideas is "Name Withheld" whose letter you published in your issue of March 9. There is probably less discrimination against Negroes now than there was a few years ago, here in D.C., but it is nevertheless widespread and virulent.

As to the extent of employment of Negroes in government, the chronic situation maintains, though it may be gradually changing. The facts are that there is but a handful of Negroes in top jobs or even in moderately high positions. These few, however, are well publicized, in an effort to obscure their paucity. The pre-war status of Negroes, relegated almost exclusively to messenger, elevator, and janitor jobs, has softened to the point where there are Negroes in clerical jobs such as typists, and even a moderate number of colored stenographers. In general, however, the jobs open to colored citizens are the lowest paid and most uninteresting, humdrum, and menial, while the possibilities for advancement are very limited.

In my own department, there are some 5,000 employes in one building. This agency has had relatively enlightened administrators over a long period. But when I go to the cafeteria, or pass through the main corridors at opening or quitting time, so that I see employes en masse, the proportion of Negroes in the crowd is, I should estimate, between 2% and 5%. Moreover, many of them are low-level clerks, despite college training, and I know stenographers with masters degrees.

I could write a book on this subject myself, and maybe someday I shall. For it is not only in government employment but in private employment and, in fact, in practically every facet of life that the Negro faces some degree of discrimination, if not a complete brush-off.

Constant Reader

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Blantyre, Nyasaland, (AP)—Police squads swooped into Chiradzulu and Namadzi townships. They arrested five members of a group allegedly planning to burn European homes and installations.

It was an impressive show of force which a government spokesman described as a "goodwill mission."

—San Francisco **Chronicle,** March 15.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: H. E., Visalia, California.

Indignant

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I indignantly disagree with the writer of the letter titled "Would you repeat that?" (March 9). Being a New Yorker and a high school student, I do not think I know very much about the position of the Negro in the nation's capital. But on October 25, 1958, I participated in the Youth March for Integration which took place in Washington, D.C. Our buses drove through some of the more depressing neighborhoods of the city and lo and behold! they were all inhabited by Negroes.

Name Withheld

Editorial support

DENVER, COLO.

As a defendant in the Denver Smith Act case, I want to thank you for your magnificent editorial support. No other publication in the country has shown so much understanding of the retrial.

The tremendous, self-sacrificing work done by seven court-appointed attorneys deserves full recognition. For two of them this was the second trial without financial compensation.

Harold Zepelin

Rubin Saltzman

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In the memories of innumerable people the name of Rubin Saltzman, who died last month, will be inseparably linked with that of the International Workers Order and the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order.

Rubin Saltzman, more than any single individual, with his optimism, courage and a single-minded dedication, led the band of some 5,000 Jewish pioneers to the founding of the IWO, which was to rekindle the flame of true fraternalism in America.

For nearly a quarter of a century thereafter he was a tireless leader and builder.

After 20 years of service to its members of our country, the IWO became the focus of a reactionary attack. Saltzman saw his order brought to its knees and then judicially murdered by liquidation. He fought back with all that was in him.

Rubin Saltzman was a Jew by birth, tradition and culture; an American by choice; a progressive by political conviction; and a fraternalist by human sympathy. These came all together, and were inseparable. For all of them, we honor him.

Jerry Trauber

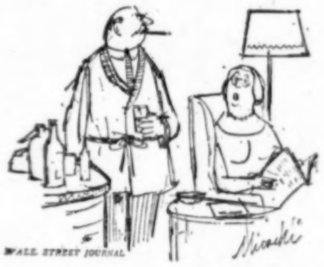
Biased mistakes?

CHICAGO, ILL.

I find that the GUARDIAN makes about as many mistakes as the conservative papers I read every day. Fortunately your mistakes are not the mistakes I usually read. I find your bias is an excellent corrective for the daily press.

I don't mean to imply that I am a conservative. I am a radical and proud of it. I call myself a Christian radical and revolutionary. Most of my outside activities are in the field of church work.

Floyd Mulkey



Wall Street Journal

"I note your antipathy to everything foreign does not extend to Scotch whiskey and Havana cigars."

A soothing message

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

Yes Mister Secretary
the Chinese Error
will be rectified—
the Russian Mistake
will be corrected
and in our Garden of Eden
the snaky workers will be
charmed forever.
Just hit the right sun spot
with the right bomb and
time gets shook
inside out like an
umbrella in a wind
and all the King's horses
and all the King's men
put Humpty Dumpty
together again.

Walter Lowenfels

Firebrand

NOXON, MONT.

In the present question about Germany, who would have a better right than the people of Germany to settle heir future among themselves?

I have been watching this struggle for over 80 years now, and if our witch-hunters want to make the labor unions strong, just keep it up, and every man in this U.S. will belong to a union and become a firebrand for his rights.

C. R. Weare

Canada's health plan?

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Understand there is or about to be put into effect in Canada a Health Insurance program. Would like to know more on the subject. The AMA makes sure that such news is blacked out here in the U.S. Perhaps our Canadian readers can give us information on this.

M. Colton

Not for White Guards

HARTFORD, CONN.

Yesterday one of my fellow workers said to me: "Is the NATIONAL GUARDIAN a red paper?" "Well," I replied, "It is not an organ of the White Guards."

Donald Wiley

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE COPY BOY CAME IN CRYING and said Roosevelt was dead. I sat down and wrote for three hours. We tore out everything on the editorial page but the masthead and, the boy offbearing from my typewriter in quarter-hour takes, we filled up the page with respectful valediction. We said the man was gone, but that his "courage and strength—God send—abide in the hearts of the generation with whom he shared them to the end."

Four years ago. Whether it is that God has not sent seriously or that we have been weak vessels on the receiving end I will not now presume to discern. Since that day the generation has moved back from the Atlantic Charter to the Atlantic Pact and still is in retreat. Roosevelt's courage was the courage to believe democracy buoyant, trustworthy, secure in its own example: we have been substituting the hedges and alarms that betoken a shaky faith.

—Jennings Perry in the Guardian, April 11, 1949.

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Vol. 11, No. 26 401 April 13, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Sacco and Vanzetti

THE POOR FISH PEDDLER in 1927 wrote to the good shoemaker's son, then 14 years old: "Remember, and know also, Dante, that if your father and I would have been cowards and hypocrites and rinnegetors of our faith, we would not have been put to death. They would not even have convicted a lebbrous dog; not even executed a deadly poisoned scorpion on such evidence as they framed against us."

This month—almost 39 years after the holdup and murder of a paymaster and a guard at a South Braintree, Mass., shoe factory on April 15, 1920, for which Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed on Aug. 22, 1927—the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is asked anew to clear the names of the two anarchists whom the politically literate world knows were framed and killed for the deterrent effect their deaths might have on other agitators of their time.

Previously, at intervals over the years, Massachusetts governors have been asked to accept and place on a public monument a bas relief sculpture by the late Gutzon Borglum of these two immortals of the class struggle in America. The thought was that this would constitute rehabilitation in the public mind. The requests have not been granted. This year, the move for rehabilitation took the form of a legislative resolution by State Representative Alexander J. Cella, Democrat of Medford, Mass. He was two years old at the time of their execution. Rep. Cella said his resolution was in line with that enacted in 1957 exonerating five persons executed in the Salem witchcraft hysteria of 1692. The Cella resolution asks posthumous pardons for Sacco and Vanzetti.

NOBODY WHO IS ANYBODY doubts any longer that Sacco and Vanzetti were framed. They were picked up by Brockton, Mass., police on May 5, 1920, on the eve of a meeting the two radicals had called to protest the death of Andrea Salsedo, a fellow anarchist. Salsedo fell or jumped from a Manhattan skyscraper where he had been under brutal interrogation for hours, days and weeks by Federal agents (predecessors of the FBI). First the police set out to frame the two for a holdup at Bridgewater, Mass. Vanzetti was rapidly railroaded to jail for 12-15 years, but Sacco had an ironclad alibi. In September, they were indicted for the South Braintree crime. Then and there began a seven-year fight for their lives, which eventually involved labor and intellectual forces the world around.

While they were still alive, a member of the Joe Morelli gang, of Providence, R.I., confessed to the crime, but Massachusetts Governor Alvin T. Fuller gave "no weight" to this. Instead he took the unanimous advice of a three-man committee he had appointed, with Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell at its head, and said he found "no sufficient justification for executive intervention."

After their deaths, attorney Morris Ernst interviewed Joe Morelli, and although Morelli would not sign a statement, Ernst came away from the lengthy interview convinced that Morelli's account of the crime could only be that of a participant.

MUCH OF THIS DETAIL and much more was unfolded April 2 at a 13-hour hearing conducted by the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts legislature on Rep. Cella's pardon resolution. Attorney Ernst proposed that the Committee search out the unpublished autobiography of Joe Morelli, as evidence that his gang, and not the two radicals, committed the South Braintree crime.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, one of counsel for Sacco & Vanzetti, testified for nearly four hours. Of Judge Webster Thayer, who presided over the trial and rejected efforts for a new trial ("Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?" he crowed) Musmanno said he was a "vain, stupid, prejudiced, unqualified judge . . . saturated with personal animosity." (Musmanno, as prosecutor and judge in Pennsylvania, in recent years sought to inflict a lifetime of torment on Communist leader Steve Nelson, but was frustrated by the Supreme Court.)

Nobody seemed hopeful of an immediate posthumous pardon as a result of the hearing. A "blue-ribbon" commission might be set up to study the issue.

MANY IDEALS AND CONCEPTS are involved in the unending struggle for a confession of error by the state in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case: love for the men, faith in the justice of their cause, concern for the standards of American justice. Similar concerns motivate those who, just as unceasingly, labor for posthumous justice for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, and a living freedom for Morton Sobell. We look to the day when this case, similarly, may be the subject of a legislative resolution for redress, and a public determination to right a grievous wrong of this generation. **—THE GUARDIAN**

MARCH COVERS BOMB-BLAST AREA

Walkers for peace hold silent meeting on Boston Common

By Arthur Springer

Special to the Guardian

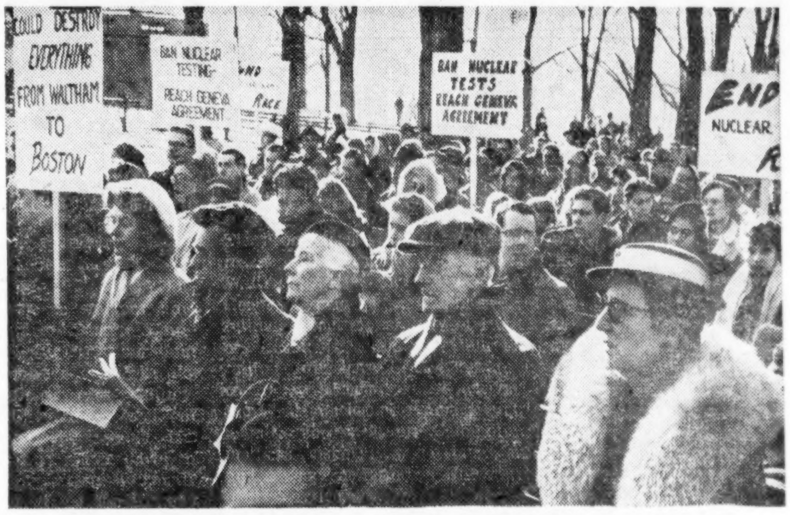
BOSTON

WELL OVER 300 peace walkers converged on historic Boston Common Sat., March 28, for an hour-long silent meeting, following six-hour walks from Waltham, Melrose and Quincy, Mass. The walks climaxed a week of public demonstrations throughout the Greater Boston area and other parts of the United States supporting a speedy and successful conclusion of the Geneva conference to ban nuclear bomb tests.

Beginning from points on the perimeter of the area that would be destroyed if a hydrogen bomb were dropped on Boston, the walk groups passed through areas that would be completely destroyed.

Robert Gussner, New England secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Waltham Walk leader, said: "About 60 walkers left Waltham at 8:30 a.m. The group tripled in size by the time we reached the Common." Co-leader of the Waltham group was 84-year-old Rev. George Lyman Paine, Cambridge, Mass., retired executive secretary of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches and retired minister, Christ Church (Episcopal) in Cambridge. At arrival time, the Waltham line stretched a quarter of a mile across Boston Common. Many mothers pushing baby carriages, children and a score of Brandeis University students participated.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS: Leader of the Quincy walk was William Hodsdon, a leading figure in last year's Walk for Peace to the UN and student at Boston University School of Theology. Co-leader was Orion Sherwood, West Rindge, New Hampshire, school teacher. Sherwood served 60 days in Honolulu jail for openly disobeying a Federal Court order prohibiting the 30-foot ketch Golden Rule from sailing into the Eniwetok nuclear bomb test area last year.


COULD DESTROY EVERYTHING FROM WALTHAM TO BOSTON
BAN NUCLEAR TESTING- REACH GENEVA AGREEMENT
BAN NUCLEAR TESTS REACH GENEVA AGREEMENT
END NUCLEAR

BOSTON PEACE WALKERS IN SILENT MEDITATION AND PRAYER
Rev. George Lyman Paine, 84, (second from right) led one group

Russell Johnson, Act for Peace treasurer and New England peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, led the Melrose walk.

Robert A. Lyon, Act for Peace sponsor and New England executive secretary of AFSC, said: "National survival is not a question for a few experts—all of us have a stake in it and this Act for Peace was a means of demonstrating this. People from 8 months to 84 years old took part."

Russell Johnson stated: "New Englanders are traditionally a conservative group of people, but last Saturday's walks showed that more and more people in this area are becoming more interested in alternatives to our present foreign policy. This was the largest demonstration of its kind in many years in Boston."

NONVIOLENCE: In response to an appeal from Edward Snyder of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D.C., Johnson went on to announce an urgent campaign to support Sen. Hubert Humphrey's resolution asking the Senate to go on record in support of the Geneva nuclear test ban conference.

Rev. George Lyman Paine said: "All walkers were pledged to a nonviolent discipline similar to the one used during the Montgomery, Alabama, nonviolent resistance to bus segregation. Walkers wore armbands of United Nations blue as a symbol of hope for a peaceful world."

William Hodsdon described the silent meeting as "a period of sustained thought, meditation or prayer" and "a good opportunity to make clear the next step towards a lasting peace. Conscientious action must follow conscientious thought. We say to those in places of power and decision: We recommend that you seek guidance as we do, and express your enlightenment in sincere, imaginative action."

30,000 LEAFLETS: Many Quakers from Cambridge Meeting of Friends, and individuals of various persuasions from the Greater Boston area, Western Massachusetts and as far away as Kennebunk, Maine, and Providence took part in the project. Near freezing temperatures prevailed all day March 28.

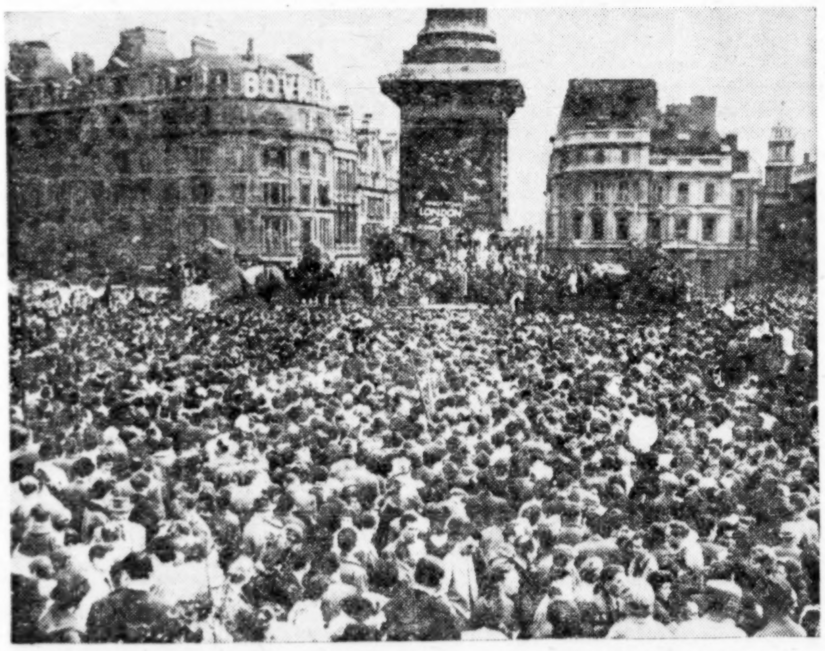
More than 30,000 leaflets were distributed by mail and by dozens of students and Boston citizens.

Leaflets contained maps of the primary devastation area in case a hydrogen bomb were dropped on Boston and stated, in part: "Our opposition to the nuclear arms race does not mean that we want to see America lay down its arms, think in isolationist terms and invite totalitarian expansion. We share with many others a desire to preserve and improve the political and social system of democracy. But we reject the assumption that the only way to do this is through reliance on military force."

Honorary chairmen of Act for Peace included Rev. George Lyman Paine, Roger N. Baldwin, A. J. Muste, Seymour Melman and Norman Thomas. Sponsors included Dr. Allen M. Butler, pediatrics professor, Harvard Medical School; Dr. Paul Deats, Boston U. School of Theology; Philip Giles, Universalist Church of America; Rt. Rev. William Appleton Lawrence, retired Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; George Selleck, executive secretary, Cambridge Meeting of Friends; and Dr. Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY DRAWS 25,000

3,000 protest Bomb in Aldermaston march



THIS GIANT RALLY IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE ASTOUNDED ALL BRITAIN
The anti-bomb bandwagon was so big that TUC leaders climbed aboard

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE SECOND Easter-weekend march of protest against nuclear weapons has astounded practically everybody in Britain. Some 3,000 made the whole four-day trek in fair weather and foul from the Aldermaston H-bomb factory to London's Trafalgar Square—five times the "hard core" of last year; thousands more joined it for part of the way; and 15,000 marched into the square for a demonstration by at least 25,000 persons, conceded to be this city's largest in living memory.

The pro-Bomb press abandoned its hopes of ignoring or burying the march. The government, facing a tricky election this year, saw it was up against a far more potent issue than it had imagined. The national labor movement, which had done nothing to help mobilize the demonstration, began to see why it was missing the boat in its attempt to stir voters out of apathy.

All were amazed by the overwhelming predominance of young people, whose party-political enthusiasm is at an all-time low. The message of the march was clear: that to get mass response today, a great issue of principle must be unequivocally put forward and imaginatively dramatized.

CHILDREN TOO: More people hit the road at Aldermaston than had been in at the climactic finish there last year, and—except for the under-representation of workers, due to the inaction of most of their organizations—they were a far broader cross-section.

Stretching for miles along the London road, the procession was led for part or all of the way by Canon Collins of St. Paul's, Jacquetta Hawkes (Mrs. J. B. Priestley), Sir Richard Acland, playwright Benn Levy and his wife actress Constance Cummings, top journalists Kingsley Martin, Michael Foot and James Cameron, several MP's and the West Indian Hi-Fi Percussion Band.

Pony-tailed girls and bearded, duffel-coated youths toted bedrolls and rucksacks, and hundreds of children accompanied their parents, marching, toddling, riding piggyback or in baby carriages.

INTERNATIONAL: And this year marchers behind the banners of 40 European, African, Asian and American countries symbolized the spread of the anti-H-bomb movement around the world. Groups had come especially for the march from Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and Greenland. A blind French youth who marched the whole way led the singing-in-the-rain in his language.

Periods of chill, pelting rain only raised the morale of demonstrators anxious to show endurance for the cause, and brought more people out to join them. In the night-stop towns of Reading and Slough—both with MP's backing the movement—they were received almost like a liberating army. The vicar of St. Peter's, Slough, came out for a 17-mile hike with the army back into his parish. The unexpected multitude swamped the accomodations prepared for them: many had beds and hot baths in friendly homes, but thousands cheerfully stretched out on three feet of floor-space in schools.

At the last lunch halt—on the steps of the Albert Memorial in west London—the procession took two hours to arrive: they were singing "When the Saints Go Marching In" and "We Shall Not Be Moved."

THE SLOGANS: By this time the banners of almost every London borough were held high in the sunshine along with those of the far west (Cornwall and Wales) and north (Arran Islands) and of every walk of life.

Behind a battalion of clergymen marched the Communist-backed British Peace Committee (which did not participate last year), and behind them the Trotskyists shouting their "Don't Work on H-Bombs" slogan for workers. None of the many different anti-Bomb positions was unrepresented. One man carried a kitten the whole way: "I must raise my voice for the animals," he said.

THE LAST LAP: The mass meeting in jam-packed Trafalgar Square was already nearly finished when the last marchers came up Whitehall. Trades Union Congress chairman Robert Willis was warmly welcomed as a speaker, despite the TUC's belatedness in climbing gingerly on the bandwagon. Secy. John Horner of the progressive Fire Brigades Union, who had joined the march from the western suburb of Chiswick, brought its meaning home when he said:

"This last lap on which we started at nine this morning is the distance from the center of London which authorities say would be devastated in an H-bomb attack on the city. They have told us not to worry about fires in that area because there would be nothing left standing to burn. That's why we firemen marched—but we are showing today that the people's organized action can prevent that bomb ever being dropped."

HE LED THE FIGHT IN THE 'KISSING CASE'

Negro leader runs for mayor of Monroe, N.C.

NEGRO CANDIDATES for public office in the South are still exceptional enough to be newsworthy. When the candidate is Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., branch of the NAACP, and when the post he seeks is the mayor's office in Monroe, the county seat, then the development is pretty big news indeed.

Less than an hour after Mayor Fred M. Wilson announced on March 20 that he would seek re-election to a two-year term, Williams filed as a candidate for the top office in the scandal-ridden municipality. Normally a sleepy little jimcrow town, Monroe became the focus of national and international attention last October when Williams brought to light the facts in the case of Hanover Thompson and David (Fuzzy) Simpson, the two Negro boys who had been jailed and then sent to a reform school for indeterminate terms because a seven-year-old white girl had kissed one of them in play.

ON HIS OWN: In January the boys were released in the custody of their mothers, now living in Charlotte. Even as he announced this action, Gov. Luther M. Hodges launched a broadside against Williams, the NAACP and the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice which had been formed to enlist public protest in the case.

Monroe's political leaders undoubtedly hoped that things would revert to "normal," but Williams' candidacy has shattered any such expectations. The NAACP leader made it plain he was running on his own initiative and not as a candidate of any organization. He linked his campaign to the needs of Negroes and of poor white voters in the town.

"Negroes," he said, "must stop letting themselves be frightened out of their rights as American citizens." And with regard to labor: "I hope to get a chance to inform the people of Union County of the advantages in having labor unions." Williams pointed out that both Negroes and poor whites are without representation in the city council and the North Carolina Industrial Development Commission. The Commission, for whose work all citizens are taxed, had been responsible for bringing new industries to Monroe from which Negroes are excluded as production workers.

A ROUSING CAMPAIGN: Rev. W. M. Cavers, an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Minister of Charlotte and campaign manager for Williams, pledged to initiate "one of the most vigorous political races for mayor ever conducted in Union County." Williams, outlining his campaign, said he expected to make speeches, get some radio time and distribute leaflets from house to house. He told the local press: "I think this is going to be beneficial. I hope to arouse the people, both colored and white, to more civic consciousness."

The response to his announcement indicated he had succeeded. Negro civic groups pushed campaigns to qualify voters during the March 21-April 4 registration period. And the white community was stirred to a new level of political activity. The daily **Express** noted that "Williams' action practically assures Monroe of its largest vote in a municipal election."

Even before Williams' announcement, Harriet Champion, in a front-page column in the March 12 Union **Mail**, bemoaned the threat to the status quo represented by "the NAACP, the CCRI and Communistic forces," and urged white voters to "shake a leg on election day and get to the polls if you have to walk every step of the way." She warned of the "disastrous results" of complacency and exhorted: "Let's get the sleepers out of our eyes, shift into high gear and be ready to fight for what we know is right." However mixed the lady's metaphors, her intentions were clear: she would preserve lily-white rule.

THE BACKGROUND: For most of the first 50 years of this century Negroes were excluded from elective office in North Carolina as in all the South. On the heels of the Supreme Court 1945 decision invalidating the lily-white primary, Rev. Kenneth Williams went to the Winston-Salem board of aldermen in 1947 as the first Negro Tarheel officeholder of the modern era. Since then Negroes have held office on a number of North Carolina municipal governing bodies, including Chapel Hill, Wilson, Gastonia, Durham, Greensboro and Fayetteville.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS
He sets a precedent

Robert F. Williams, however, is the first to run for mayor; and the first anywhere in the South to base his campaign so clearly, not alone on the right of Negroes to representation, but on the need of white workers for champions in government as well.

Whether or not he wins in the April 18 primary, his campaign is an important political portent for the South and the nation.

Double jeopardy

(Continued from Page 1)

drafted to guarantee against unwarranted Federal encroachments on individual rights, but do not bind the states, and (2) the due process clause had never been considered a flat bar against double jeopardy. His main argument, however, dealt with the concept of Federalism. Emphasizing the co-sovereignty of the states with the Federal government, he defended their "historic right and obligation . . . to maintain peace and order within their confines."

In the main dissent, Justice Hugo Black was joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas. He blasted double trials for the same offense as "contrary to the spirit of our free country," and said that the notion that they are more sufferable if conducted by separate jurisdictions was "too subtle for me to grasp."

"Inevitably," said Black, "the victims of such double prosecutions will most often be the poor and the weak in our society, individuals without friends in high places who can influence prosecutors not to try them again. The power to try a second time will be used, as have all similar procedures, to make scapegoats of helpless, political, religious or racial minorities and those who differ, who do not conform and who resist tyranny."

DOUBLE SENTENCES: The second case involved Louis J. Abbate and Michael L. Falcone, who were given three-month prison terms by Illinois authorities when they pleaded guilty of conspiring to dynamite some telephone facilities in a union dispute. They were then prosecuted in Federal court because some of the telephone equipment was used exclusively by the Federal government. The second trial resulted in new sentences of three years and one year. The High Court division in this case was 6-3, with Justice Black again condemning the second trial on behalf of himself, Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas.

On April 5 Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers took a step to limit the extent of the damage which might result from the Court's ruling. In a memorandum to all Federal attorneys, he ordered them to get his approval before taking action against defendants who have already been tried in state courts for the same crime. He discouraged Federal trials on the heels of state prosecutions "unless the reasons are compelling."

N.Y. State Senate Democratic Minority Leader Joseph Zaretzki proposed an even more far-reaching remedy. He announced he would introduce a bill in the Legislature next year to nullify the Supreme Court ruling in the state. His bill, he said, would help to stop the "shocking erosion" of civil liberties which has occurred in the last 20 years and begin to "reverse the trend."

MIXED UP: Some opponents of the Court were not at all fazed by the fact that responsibility for the decision could not be pinned on the three Justices who are regarded as the main liberal offenders on what is called the "Warren Court." The N.Y. **Daily News,** chafing as ever over previous Supreme Court findings of error in Smith Act prosecutions, felt that the double jeopardy ruling "makes Congressional curb-the-court action more needed than ever."

As if in reply, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee announced April 3 that it had scheduled public hearings, to begin April 20, on about a dozen "anti-subversive" measures. Many of them are aimed at reversing Supreme Court decisions in key civil liberties cases.

The Court on March 31 heard arguments on two other cases which afford it an opportunity to restore its reputation as a bulwark of constitutional liberties. Both cases were challenges to the government security program which covers 3,000,000 defense plant workers.

In 1956 the Defense Dept. suspended its clearance of Charles Allen Taylor, a Bell Aircraft Corp. lathe operator in Buffalo, N. Y. The company fired Taylor because it had no unclassified work for him to do. Despite his denial that he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1942 and 1943, the government refused to lift the suspension or to permit him to face his accusers, described as "casual informants; neighbors and gossips."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., who represented Taylor, called the proceedings a "terrifying 480-page record of unfairness." When U.S. Solicitor J. Lee Rankin said that disclosure might "destroy our intelligence system," Rauh replied there was no proof of that except the contention of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The government has never tried any system except one based on hidden informers, he said, and added: "This court cannot let America's chief policeman decide that the Bill of Rights won't work."

When, in the companion case, one of the Justices suggested that the alternative to unveiling informers might be to clear the accused employe, Asst. Atty. Gen. George Cochran Doub retorted that that would be an "intolerable choice." And Justice Frankfurter, who had the day before sanctioned double prosecutions, commented: "That's the penalty men pay for being in high positions. They have to make intolerable decisions."

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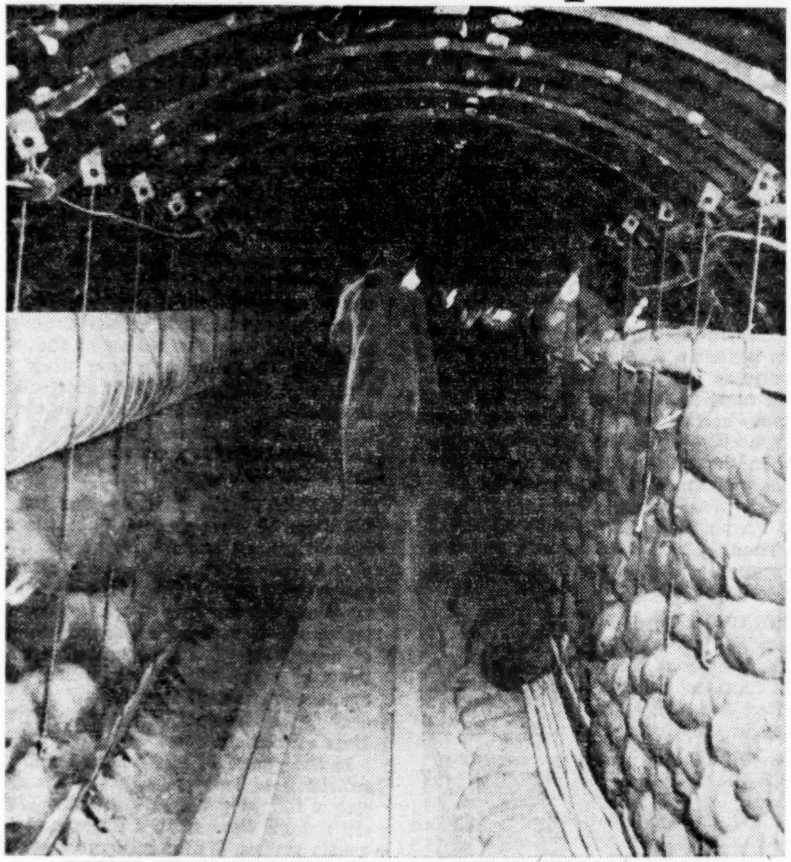
Whose entire life was dedicated to all oppressed peoples, regardless of color or creed.

SPIES, BALLOONS, AGENTS, CAMERAS AND SABOTAGE, INC.—II

Why the CIA is called the 'Dept. of Dirty Tricks'

By Frank Bellamy

(Second of three articles)



BORING FROM WITHOUT: THE CIA'S TUNNEL INTO EAST BERLIN
The Russians found it in 1956. Its purpose: to tap telephone wires

SEN. RICHARD RUSSELL (D-Ga.), one of the privileged few in Congress to be let in on some aspects of the little-known top-secret Central Intelligence Agency, once said that it "almost chills the marrow of a man to hear" what some CIA agents are doing.

The Senator, not one to give aid and comfort to the critics of American foreign policy—any more than to critics of segregation—was, if anything, understating the case.

The late Anthony Leviero, Washington correspondent for the **N.Y. Times** and one of the first to dub the CIA the "Department of Dirty Tricks," wrote (June 7, 1954): "The secret intelligence operation . . . involves more than the mere collection of information; it encompasses action against enemy agents and hostile activities that may range from sabotage to assassination."

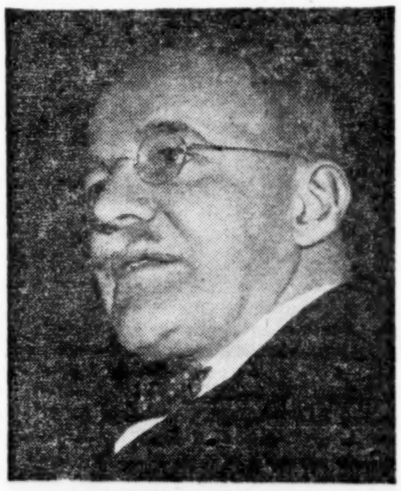
In an earlier article (April, 1952) in **Nation's Business,** Leviero was more specific. CIA spies and saboteurs, he said, "learn to blow up bridges, railroad trains and war plants, [and] are taught to use all types of weapons, both U.S. and foreign."

Nothing in the record in recent years indicates that America's secret legion has grown more gentlemanly. Dirty tricks, it would appear, remain its stock in trade.

SUPER-SECRET: The trouble is that CIA operations are so cloaked in secrecy that few know who CIA agents are or how they operate. Few know how and where the CIA spends its hundreds of millions of dollars a year—or even how much it spends. Only a handful of top government officials have access to its reports.

Some idea of its size is given, however, in the fact that it now occupies 30-odd buildings in Washington, maintains 25 domestic offices across the country on a 24-hour basis, and finances unnumbered undercover branches around the globe.

Guesses on how many persons work for the agency range all the way from 3,000 to 30,000. A conservative guess is 14,000 full-time Americans, plus thousands of foreign-born personnel, some full-time but most working on a free-lance, "piece work" basis. Estimates on CIA spending range up to and above $500,000,000 a year.



CIA CHIEF ALLEN DULLES
His operations "chill the marrow"

The agency's $21,000-a-year, pipe-smoking director, Allen Welsh Dulles, is responsible only to the National Security Council and President Eisenhower—not even, directly, to his older brother John Foster, and especially not to the taxpayers whose money he spends.

NON-TALKATIVE: And Allen Dulles usually does not advertise his agency's cloak-and-dagger operations against the socialist world—either to brag of its "successes" or apologize for its failures.

Occasionally, however, this tight-lipped policy breaks down when something particularly raw comes to light—as when a CIA agent was caught red-handed tapping the telephone by José Figueras, former Costa Rican president, or in 1956 when the Russians found a tunnel the CIA had dug a third of a mile into East Berlin to tap telephone and telegraph wires there. The Russians showed Western reporters how the tunnel led directly toward a U.S. sentry-guarded installation 550 yards on the Western side of the border.

Details of CIA fifth-column activities in Iran and Guatemala came out in a series of three articles in the **Saturday Evening Post** in 1954. The authors, Richard and Gladys Harkness, had spent a year in Washington where they undoubtedly interviewed top CIA officials. Their articles made it apparent that:

- In 1953 the CIA helped engineer the overthrow of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh's government. The coup, hatched by Allen Dulles and others in the Swiss Alps, enabled the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., a client of the Dulles Brothers' former law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, to collect some $1 billion in indemnity for nationalization.

- In 1954 the CIA helped arm and direct a rebel invasion from Honduras which overthrew the democratically-elected government of Guatemala. The CIA saw to it that each rebel was equipped "with a burp gun, a pistol and a machete."

THE REQUIREMENTS: In addition to counter-revolutionary activities, the CIA reads other people's mail. Harvard social scientist Harry Howe Ransom said in his **Christian Science Monitor** article (Dec. 1, 1958) that "the American intelligence system today is spending close to $100,000,000 a year for code making, code breaking, and electronic interception of the communications of other governments."

CIA is the only government agency to require every applicant for a job, even the lowest-paid stenographer, to take a lie detector test. According to newspaper accounts, only about 80 applicants of every 1,000 get through the rigid security checks. And according to Ransom, only a relatively few of these go into the cloak-and-dagger branch, losing their identities in strange lands.

The relatively small number of native Americans engaged in direct espionage appears less a matter of CIA policy than a shortage of qualified citizen-spies. Robert D. Deindorfer said in the N.Y. **World-Telegram & Sun** (Oct. 25, 1958) that "America still suffers from the lack of competent men. Except at the highest and lowest levels, the personnel just doesn't measure up to the job."

To illustrate his point, Deindorfer told of an American CIA agent who went to East Germany on a spying mission. He disguised himself perfectly—"except for one thing. During his three-week swing of East Germany, he had failed to remove his West Point class ring."

WHO THEY ARE: To compensate for the shortage of native specialists in intrigue, the agency leans heavily on ex-Nazis and exiles from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The CIA supplies many of these refugees with counterfeit money, arms, ammunition, forged documents and even, in some cases, explosives. They invade Eastern Europe as terrorists and spies, and their identities and dirty tricks remain unheralded unless—as not infrequently happens—they are caught and confess.

Under a law passed in 1949 (the late Vito Marcantonio was the lone objector) the CIA may bring in up to 100 aliens a year as a reward for information they passed on to American agents abroad. That many of these foreign informants are unsavory characters, and some the scum of post-Hitler Europe, is widely acknowledged.

The N.Y. **Times'** Hanson Baldwin wrote (July 30, 1953)) that the CIA "must deal with questionable characters and persons of doubtful morals, with known Communists and with 'double agents' of uncertain loyalty. It naturally attracts, among its many able men, some who are 'clucks,' others who are themselves attracted by the megalomania of secrecy and quite a number who are out for the ride."

HITLER'S GENERAL: One of the most questionable of these characters is Reinhard Gehlen. A lieutenant general in the German Army in World War II, Gehlen directed Nazi espionage on the Soviet front. In 1945 he turned over his spy files to U.S. intelligence officers who found them "invaluable" (**Time** magazine, July 11, 1955). Said **Time:**

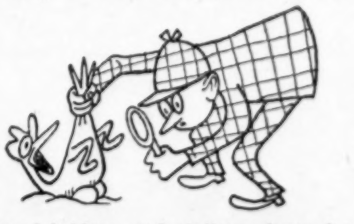
"Gehlen was flown to Washington and returned to Germany with the secret understanding that he would rebuild his intelligence apparatus and set it to work for both the U.S. and Western Germany."

Back in business at the old stand, minus the Nazi uniform and under new management, Gehlen established his headquarters in the village of Pullach, near Munich and not far from Dachau. "An eight-foot barbed wire fence surrounds a self-contained community of 30 acres, with stores, schools, map rooms, files, and offices," reported the Chicago **Tribune** (Sept. 12, 1956).

The **Tribune** quoted the **Overseas Weekly,** an American paper in West Germany, as saying that "American taxpayers, without knowing it, have been giving Gehlen between $5,000,000 and $8,000,000 a year without his name ever figuring in any appropriations request to Congress and without his signing a receipt for a nickel."

PROMOTION: Estimates of the number of agents working for the Gehlen Organization ranged from 3,000 to 6,000. They included (N.Y. **Times,** July 21, 1955) "almost the entire personnel of the German Army's General Staff section that conducted military espionage against the Russians." **Time** said Gehlen agents "range as far afield as Cairo, Istanbul and Madrid" and rated the spy ring "one off the most efficient intelligence organizations in the world."

Gehlen agents were caught in East Germany in 1953 with plans to blast railroad bridges and stations, burn factories and assassinate government officials. In 1955 the East German government reported it had arrested 521 Gehlen agents and contacts, seized 19 American-made radio receivers and transmitters, plus arms and ammunition, poisons, incendiary sets, special cameras, bogus ration cards and forged passes. And on Nov. 18, 1956, the N.Y. **World-Telegram & Sun's** Edward J. Byng cabled that Gehlen "is believed to have had a hand in Hungary's 'October Revolution' against communism."



In February, 1957, the Bonn Government took the logical step and appointed the tight-lipped Prussian as president of its Federal Intelligence Agency.

NEXT WEEK: Does CIA make foreign policy?

Cloak and Dagger: Free enterprise division

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT isn't alone in the cloak-and-dagger business. A private spy group with the innocent sounding name of International Services of Information Foundation brags that it maintains contact with sleuths around the world and with underground groups behind the Iron Curtain.

It is credited with, among other exploits, having bribed a Polish officer to fly a Soviet-built MIG-15 jet fighter to the West in 1953. Headquartered in Baltimore, its president is retired Colonel Ulius L. (Pete) Amoss, 63, former chief of the Eastern European division of the Office of Strategic Services. Last February Amoss addressed the North Jersey chapter, Retired Officers Association, on "Subversive Warfare—How to Seize the Initiative."

A VAST CONTINENT SAYS: WE WILL LIVE ON OUR OWN LAND IN OUR OWN WAY

Africa today: The newest and biggest battlegrou

By Kumar Goshal

AFRICA TODAY is the scene of the last great struggle for colonial freedom. Here the Western powers and the white settlers are attempting to hang on to the continent's vast resources and the slave labor of the Africans with desperate tenacity and cold-blooded brutality. The Africans are fighting by various means to recover their rightful possessions and to develop them for their own benefit in their own way.

Day after day the world's press carries stories of France's "dirty war" against the Algerian fighters for freedom; the white man's torture of illegally imprisoned African men, women and children in Kenya; the British government's supine acquiescence to the white settlers' brutality in Nyasaland; the Belgian government's display of military might after doffing the mask of paternalism in the Congo; and the South African government's grim determination to emulate Hitler.

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT: The spectacle is ugly. Americans are involved too, and on the wrong side. U.S. investments in Africa have mushroomed since World War II, from $93,000,000 in 1936 to more than $800,000,000 last year. Most of these investments are in traditionally colonial extractive industries: oil exploration and distribution in North, West and South Africa, rubber and iron ore mining in Liberia, copper mining in Central Africa. The rate of profit of U.S. investments from all Africa has ranged between 21-25% every year since 1951.

Behind the present explosions in Africa are 300 years of indirect and nearly 100 years of direct exploitation of the Africans by the West, encompassing an unparalleled history of greed, chicanery and violence.

Traders in gold, ivory and slaves plied the coastline of Africa long before the continent fell prey to physical conquest. The most profitable of all was the slave trade—carried on by Arabs for Asian potentates—which the Portuguese entered in the 16th century. Sir John Hawkins pioneered the slave trade for Britain. A pious man who enjoined his men to "serve God daily" while kidnaping Africans, Sir John chose as his crest a Negro in chains. One of his ships was named **Jesus.**

THE RUSH TO CONQUER: Before 1870, however, less than 10% of the 12,000,000 square miles of the world's second largest continent belonged to foreign powers. After that, the spread of industrialization in the West led to a mad rush for the conquest of Africa for raw materials and cheap labor.

Western explorers had already opened up the continent and spread tales of its fabulous potential wealth. One such explorer, for example, was Henry Morton Stanley, romantically immortalized by "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" Less well known is his tireless propaganda for the conquest of Africa. He told the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce in 1884:

"There are 40,000,000 people beyond the gateway of the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen, into the Christian fold."

THE PRETEXTS: The Western powers for about 30 years stalked the entire African continent like hungry wolves. They used all the pretexts for conquest tested earlier in Asia: retaliation for "killing missionaries," quelling of tribal uprisings, protection from border raids, recouping of unpaid loans, fulfillment of treaty-terms of which the African rulers were unaware, "establishment of law and order," and "protection" for unwilling kings and chiefs.

In the course of the conquest and the redivision of loot through the mandate system following World War I, the Western powers dismembered tribes and linguistic groups. White settlers came into areas where they found the climate tolerable, and expropriated the choice lands.

Conquest was not always easy: the Ashanti people fought the British for 25 years. But the Westerner had the Maxim gun and the Africans had no fire power· Nevertheless, the rule of 5,000,000 whites over 200,000,000 Africans was doomed to failure.

A
P.
AWAY WITH PASSES
300 YRS OF WHITE OPPRESION

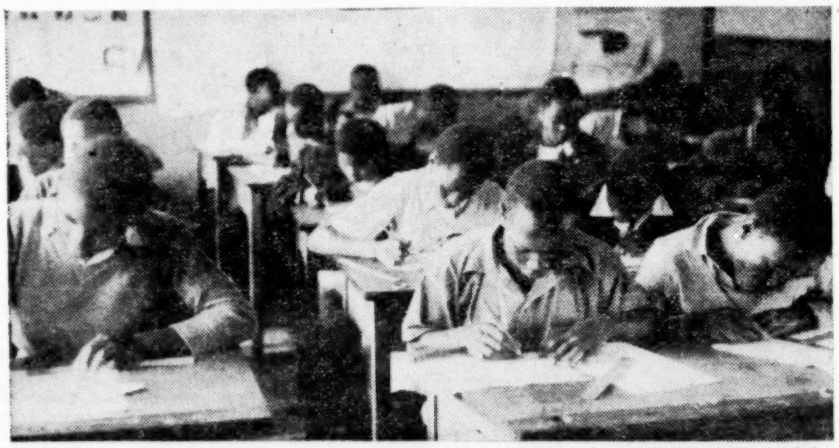
IN SOUTH AFRICA: The cry of the dispossed Africans is "Free-DOM!"

AFTER WORLD WAR II: The weakening of imperialist powers after World War II and the progressive strengthening of the national liberation movements in the colonial world led to the emancipation of many colonies both in Asia and Africa.

With the exception of Algeria, the North African countries have all achieved independence or can have it for the tak-

ROUND-UP OF AFRICANS IN KENYA: Despite this, Kenya independence leader Tom Mboya told the Accra conference that free Africa's tenet will be "One man, one vote . . . We will not practice racism in reverse."

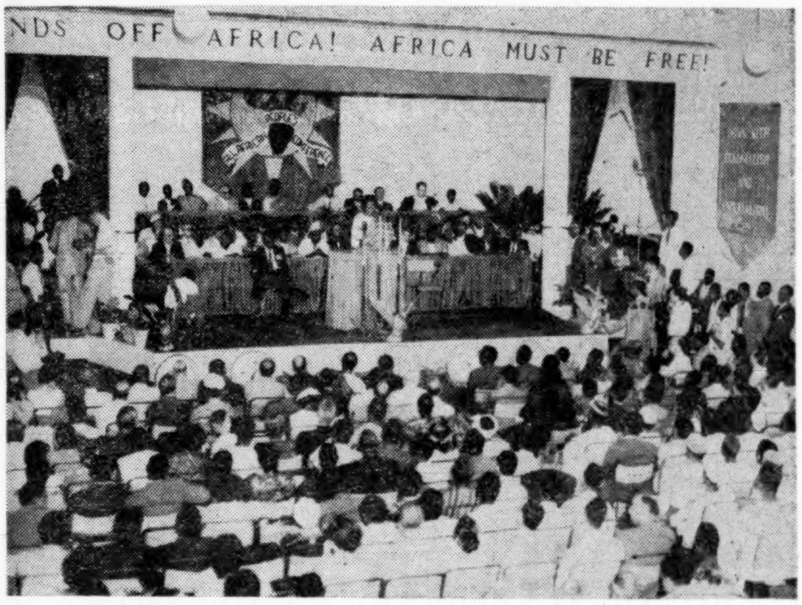
BELGIAN RULE IN THE CONGO: The All-African Peoples Conference secretariat in Accra wants a delegation to investigate Belgian troop atrocities against a peaceful African meeting last January in Leopoldville.



United Nations photos

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA: (Above) A few children among the 2,500,000 African population receive primary education; less than 1,700 receive secondary education. (Below) All children among the 176,000 white population receive primary and secondary education. Under African administration in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) between 1951-55, the number of secondary schools rose from 13 to 31; the number of secondary school students from 2,709 to 7,711.

ound for human freedom


NDS OFF AFRICA! AFRICA MUST BE FREE!

GHANA'S PREMIER NKRUMAH ADDRESSES THE 1958 ACCRA PARLEY: "We prefer independence with danger to servitude in tranquility."

ing. Algerian freedom cannot be put off much longer. Freedom is spreading south of the Sahara. Ghana is free; Nigeria, French Togoland and the Cameroons and Somalia will be independent next year.

In general, colonies with few white settlers have gained freedom by relatively peaceful means. It is a different story where white settler areas and Western investments are heavy and where the Western powers see a military need. Violent conflict would seem to be inevitable in Kenya, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, the Belgian Congo and the Union of South Africa. Their eventual freedom, however, is equally inevitable.

THE ROAD AHEAD: Three conferences held in formerly colonial countries have boosted the morale of Africans still fighting for freedom: (1) the 1955 Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia; (2) the conference of the independent states of Africa in Accra, Ghana, a year ago; (3) the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra last December, where representatives of all African liberation movements and of free countries pledged mutual help.

These conferences, which were attended by Soviet Asian and Chinese delegates, either as participants or observers, indicated the general line of economic, political and social development of the African countries:

● All of them veered left of center politically and believed in planned economic development.

● Neutrality seemed to be the keynote of their foreign policy.

● None of them can be scared by the bogey of "communism" or by dire predictions of administrative chaos if freedom came "too soon" and Western administrators were suddenly withdrawn. (Alfred Friendly, the Washington **Post's** managing editor, reported March 26 from Conakry that newly-freed Guinea with equanimity has signed trade agreements with socialist countries while allowing West European and American investors to continue with bauxite development. Friendly also noted that, despite withdrawal of French civil servants, "the country continued to run pretty well, with governmental services sustained.")

● While all were anti-imperialist, none were anti-white, despite the deep wounds of racial prejudice.

(The London **New Statesman** noted March 14 that no European had been molested in the week of Feb. 20-28, when Northern Nyasaland was "virtually in the hands of the African masses." The Africans seek only to be masters in their own house under democratic rule. The conservative London **Observer** pertinently warned: "The white man has a place in Africa only if he accepts the principle that in the end the African majority must and will rule.")

● Eventually, as Ghana's Premier Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea's President Sekou Toure have pointed out—and demonstrated by forming a union of their two countries—Africans will have to form at least regional federations. This would be necessary to restore the natural groupings of peoples arbitrarily divided by the imperialist powers and to afford access to a variety of resources for efficient and rapid economic progress.

THE TAKE IS GREAT: Africans will not much longer tolerate the draining of their natural wealth for foreign investors, nor predatory exploitation of their labor. Example: the British hydroelectric project at Kariba, Southern Rhodesia, pays Africans 4½ cents an hour.

Up to 1955, the imperialist powers drained at least $14,000,000,000 in minerals from South Africa, over $2,000,000,000 (mainly in copper) from Northern Rhodesia, $1,000,000,000 in minerals from Southern Rhodesia, untold amounts in uranium from the Belgian Congo. From sub-equatorial Africa the West has taken some $20,000,000,000 worth of minerals.

United Nations photo

HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT IN KARIBA, SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Planned without consulting the Africans, the project displaced 50,000 whose land was flooded; alternative project urged by Africans would have displaced only 1,000. Government troops recently broke up a strike of 6,600 African project workers against a 4½c hourly wage.

No wonder that Nigerian writer Amanke Okafor wrote:

"The fabulous sums drawn away from our mines alone, had they been at the disposal of a government of Nigerians, might have transformed the face of our country in a decade."

NO LONGER ALONE: The African's aspirations for freedom cannot be crushed by force of arms; nor can their freedom be delayed much longer by concessions. As Dr. DuBois told the Accra conference last December, the white man's "yielding takes the form of sharing the loot—not of stopping the looting."

Above all, Africans still in bondage no longer feel they are struggling alone. For, as Nkrumah has noted, Ghana's independence "can only have meaning within a context of the total liberation of the African continent." He said:

"In the Belgian Congo, in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, in North, South, East and Central Africa, the standard of African freedom is raised. Nor will it be lowered until all Africa is free."

Dr. DuBois: 'Arise and stand straight!'

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was born in 1868, when most of Africa was free from Western domination. By the time he was 37, practically the whole continent had fallen prey to Western greed and lust. During his lifetime he has watched with sympathy the Africans' struggle for freedom, given guidance to such African leaders as Ghana's Premier Nkrumah through the Pan-African Congress which he helped organize, witnessed with joy in recent years the independence of much of his ancestral land. Following is a condensation of an address he made on February 23, his 91st birthday, before more than 1,000 faculty members and students at Peking University in China.

BY COURTESY OF THE 680,000,000 people of the Chinese Republic, I am permitted on my 91st birthday to speak to the people of China and Africa and through them to the world. Hail, then, and farewell, dwelling places of the yellow and black races. Hail humankind! . . .

China after long centuries has arisen to her feet and leapt forward. Africa arise, and stand straight, speak and think! Act! Turn from the West and your slavery and humiliation and face the rising sun. Behold the most populous nation on this ancient earth which has burst its shackles, not by boasting and strutting, not by lying about its history and its conquests, but by patience and long suffering, by hard, backbreaking labor and with bowed head and blind struggle, moved up and on toward the crimson sky. She aims to "make men holy; to make men free."

YOU HAVE BEEN TOLD, my Africa: My Africa in Africa and your children's children overseas; you have been told and the telling so beaten into you by rods and whips, that you believe it yourself, that this is impossible; that mankind can only rise by walking on men; by cheating them and killing them; that only on a doormat of the despised and dying, the dead and rotten, can a British aristocracy, a French cultural elite or an American millionaire be nurtured and grown. This is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the down-trodden and the children of despair.

Speak, China, and tell your truth to Africa and the world. . . . Let Chinese visit Africa, send their scientists there and their artists and writers. Let Africa send its students to China and its seekers after knowledge. It will not find on earth a richer goal, a more promising mine of information.

On the other hand, watch the West. I am frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment at high interest to bind you in serfdom to business. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers.

DON'T BUY CAPITAL from Britain, France and the U.S. if you can get it on reasonable terms from the Soviet Union and China. This is not politics; it is common sense . . .

Visit the Soviet Union and visit China. Let your youth learn the Russian and Chinese languages. Stand together in this new world and let the old world perish in its greed or be born again in new hope and promise. Listen to the Hebrew prophet of communism: Ho! everyone that thirsteth; come ye to the waters; come, buy and eat, without money and without price!

Again, China and Africa, hail and farewell!

A TRIBUTE TO THE COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The flickering 'Torch of Liberty'

A testimonial honoring Prof. Smith and Abner Green will be given Thurs. eve., April 16, at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City at 7:30 p.m. For details, see advertisement, p. 4.

ONE TELLING TALE in **Torch of Liberty***, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith's newly-published book on 25 years of work by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, concerns not a foreigner but an Indian chief.

Discussing the upsurge of hostility and prejudice against foreign-born following the Depression of the 30's, Prof. Smith recalls Congressional attempts to bar non-citizens from WPA jobs. This resulted in an amendment by Rep. Hamilton Fish of New York directing that preference in all relief employment be given to "veterans and citizens."

More than a million people were dropped from work relief jobs in the slashes that followed. In Fall River, Mass., Chief Black Hawk of the Mohawk Indians was dropped from WPA rolls!

With ancestors of her own who were "native-born" (the quotation marks are hers) in Colonial days, Miss Smith undoubtedly included the tale of Chief Black Hawk as a mischievous tack for the chair-seat of any American-by-birth presuming to preferred status over the nation's 15,000,000 Americans-by-choice.

Her book, however, is not a collection of anecdotes, nor is it simply a tribute to co-workers, past and present, in the American Committee, which she has headed for the past nine years. Rather it is an absorbing treatise on the immigrant in America since the founding years. It shows that for more than 100 years after the Revolution the policy enunciated by Franklin, Washington and Jefferson of open entry and the tradition of right of asylum, was maintained despite waves of anti-alien prejudice due to politico-economic, religious and racial reasons.

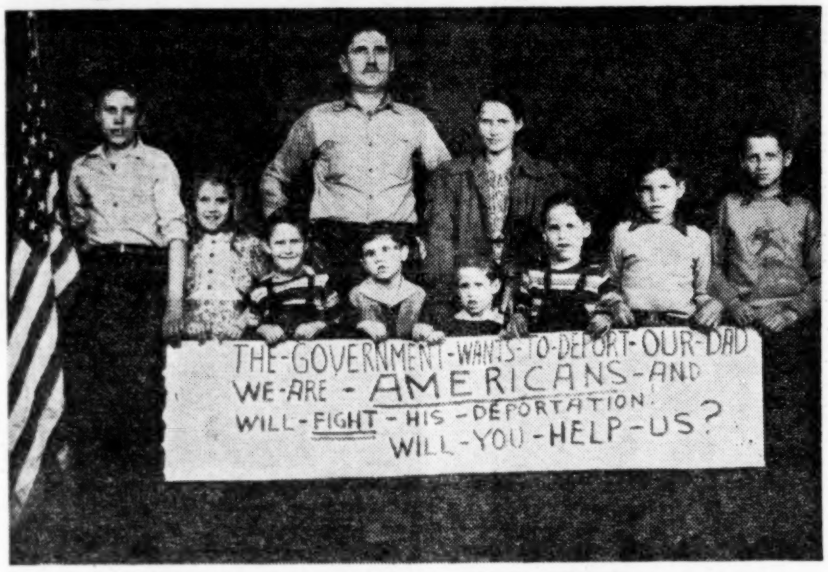
Starting with no "original indigenous stock" in the early colonization years, the nation at the time of the Revolution was, according to one early writer, "a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Germans and Swedes." It was the most mixed-up in New York, where Timothy Dwight found in addition "immigrants from New England, Long Island and New Jersey" as well as Jews, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards and West Indians.

THIS "PROMISCUOUS BREED," as one of the early writers called it, in the founding years of the nation was induced to turn against the Irish and the French, against whom the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798 were ostensibly aimed. The grounds: conspiring to overthrow the government.

Jefferson called the legislation "detestable" and Madison saw it as "a monster that will disgrace its parents." The laws were nullified in two years, when Jefferson became president.

Thereafter the nation never had an immigration exclusion law until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 barring Chinese laborers at the demand of West Coast elements, and another law the same year setting a head tax of 50c on immigrants and barring convicts (except political offenders), lunatics, idiots and those "liable to become a public charge."

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
The past and the job ahead


THE-GOVERNMENT-WANTS-TO-DEPORT-OUR-DAD
WE-ARE-AMERICANS-AND
WILL-FIGHT-HIS-DEPORTATION!
WILL-YOU-HELP-US?

MR. AND MRS. LEON CALLOW AND EIGHT OF THEIR NINE CHILDREN
Leon Callow was arrested for deportation in 1934 for activities in behalf of the unemployed; it took 24 years but the ACPFB won his case.

Ironically it was in those same years, which began to usher in a new period of Alien & Sedition laws, that the Statue of Liberty was erected in New York Harbor and Emma Lazarus wrote the poem "The New Colossus," which is inscribed on its base, opening the nation's "golden door" to the world's tired, poor, homeless and "tempest-tost."

Indeed, the nation which countenanced the departure in the '80s and '90s from the founding belief in open access to the U.S. was itself at the time composed of a majority of foreign-born and their first generation offspring. Though this situation had existed from the nation's earliest days—from the point where settlers began to outnumber the native Indian population—the author notes that the nation has never been immune to "the virus of racial and national prejudice." She writes, in the course of her scholarly review of the rise of the Know Nothings of the 1830's, the American Protective Association of the 80's and the hate groups of the last half century:

"The treatment of the American Indians, the American Negroes, the Filipinos, the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese and other minority groups has not only brought dire consequences to the groups themselves and to the American economy as a whole; it has distorted that image of democracy with freedom and justice for all, of which we are so proud."

CONCERNS SUCH AS THESE brought the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born into existence in 1933, and in its first decade it won the heartiest support imaginable.

By 1937, headed by a New York clergyman, Rev. Herman F. Reissig and steered by a Colorado miner's son named Dwight Morgan who had been one of its founders, the Committee was able to enlist for the task notables such as Heywood Broun, John Dewey, Robert Morse Lovett, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes and many others, including as publicity director a 20-year-old writer named Abner Green (who today directs the work of the Committee as its executive secretary).

When Miss Smith's account reaches 1940-41, she devotes a full chapter, "Vigilance Against Injustice," to the most illustrious of the Committee's participants. The list was studded with the nation's greats in literature, the arts, law, clergy and education; the topmost labor leaders of the time, scientists, Congressmen by the dozen including Senators James E. Murray and Claude Pepper, the late Vito Marcantonio, one of ACPFB's founders; Emanuel Celler, who is still leading the fight for humane immigration and naturalization laws in Congress; DeLacey and Coffee of Washington, Murdock of Utah, Tenerowicz of Michigan; Carey McWilliams, then California State Immigration Commissioner; Archibald MacLeish, then Librarian of Congress; Brooks Atkinson, N.Y. **Times** drama critic; Thornton Wilder, Upton Sinclair, attorney Carol King, then secretary of the International Juridical Assn. and later to become an immortal in the fight for the foreign-born, notably in the defense of Harry Bridges.

And, to top it off, there was a greeting from President Roosevelt. Later Wendell Willkie, FDR's Republican opponent for the presidency in 1940, was to come into the orbit of the Committee with his victorious presentation in the Supreme Court of the appeal from the denaturalization case against William Schneiderman, California Communist leader.

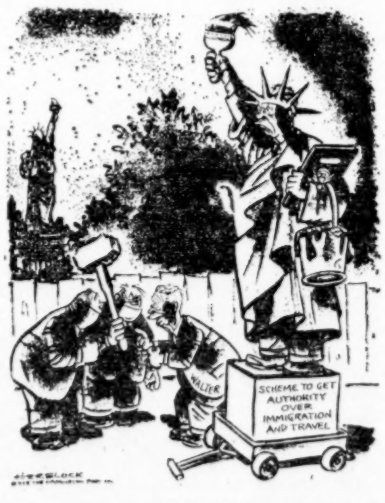
By 1944 the well-wishers of the Committee included also Mrs. Roosevelt, Vice-Pres. Wallace, Harold Ickes, Senators Wagner and Mead of N.Y., Thomas Mann, Mayor La Guardia, Sidney Hillman and, to ceremonies on Bedloe's Island at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, came a message from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

SO, WHAT HAPPENED? Why could not such an illustrious assemblage as that of 1940 halt the Smith Act, first alien registration law in the nation's history (as well as its chief witch-hunt instrument, then as now)? How, against such a background, and with a new, broader opposition 12 years later, could the repressive, racist Walter-McCarran Law have been passed over President Truman's veto? Why, in 1958, was attorney Isaac Shorr (one of the Committee's earliest workers) still defending, on the same charges, people he had defended against the deportation raids of Atty. Gen. A. Mitchell Palmer in 1919-20?

The Smith Act rode in—as had anti-alien laws of the World War I period—in a general hysteria against "enemy aliens." Its Alien Registration provisions uncovered some 500,000 illegal residents, of whom perhaps 100,000 were immediately deportable. They were seamen, miners, industrial workers, war-contract laborers from the West Indies, farm labor from Mexico, others barred by Oriental exclusion laws. There was an uphill job ahead for the ACPFB, against a downhill trend in public support. The Cold War became and has remained the accepted policy of government. A General Electric president, at a time when nearly 5,000,000 workers were striking to bring wages into line with rising post-war prices, said the problems of the U.S. could be summed up in two words: "Russia abroad, and Labor at home." The Taft-Hartley Law, Attorney General Tom Clark's subversive organizations list, Truman's loyalty orders, the spy scares and Communist trials followed—"in such a situation, what security had the foreign-born, particularly the non-citizen?"

Much of the **Torch of Liberty** deals with the period since 1948—a period during which the work of the Committee and the fight for the rights of foreign-born have been consistently reported in the GUARDIAN. Readers will be familiar with the notable cases, the defeats and victories, yet one can pause with fascination over such documents included in the book as the personal statement—really a capsule life story—of 74-year-old Charles Rowoldt of Minnesota. It was his Supreme Court victory in 1957 that crowned with success the ACPFB efforts of many years to halt the outgoing tide of political deportations. The Heikkila Case, for example, occupies a full chapter with a most expert damnation of Lt. Gen. Joseph M. Swing, the present Immigration Commissioner.

YET THE BIG JOB AHEAD is not only in the field of political intimidation but in behalf of Mexican migratory labor in the Southwest. These workers make up most of the 1,400,000 Mexican non-citizens in the country, of a total of 5,000,000 residents of Mexican birth or descent. Prof. Smith's chapter, "Stepchildren of a Nation," is devoted entirely to this newly-emerging task. She quotes Rev. James L. Vizzard of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference as stating that some 5,000 corporate farms which employ most Mexican farm labor in the U.S. "have the equivalent of a slave labor force provided to them at the cost of tens of millions of dollars to the American taxpayer."


WALTER
SCHEME TO GET AUTHORITY OVER IMMIGRATION AND TRAVEL
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post
"The idea is to set it up in a quick change, see?"

GUARDIAN readers, who are among the principal fighters on this issue in California and the Southwest, will appreciate the emphasis Prof. Smith places on their fight, and the tribute she pays to the campaign conducted since 1953 by the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Torch of Liberty is the product of several years of research and writing by Miss Smith, professor emeritus of Biblical history, Wellesley College. It was undertaken in connection with the ACPFB's 25th anniversary in Dec. 1958. Its issuance now serves the double purpose of providing (1) a means of supporting the ACPFB's irreplaceable work and (2) a vital history of the fight to restore America to the founding concept of Benjamin Franklin as a country of "wholesome air, free government, wise laws, liberty, good people to live among and a hearty welcome."

—John T. McManus

*TORCH OF LIBERTY, *by Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith. Dwight-King Publishing Co., Inc., Room 405, 49 E. 21st St., N.Y. 10, 441 pp., fully indexed. $5.*

REPORT LISTS FIGHTS TO COME

Electric consumers group curbs private power grabs

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

WHEN THE Electric Consumers Information Committee (ECIC) issues its sixth annual report soon, the press wires of the nation will not hum with the news. Yet the report will contain some of the most important news of the nation today.

The ECIC is the one national organization which has served most effectively in holding down the rates of the private power companies in the last six years, in checking legislation which would virtually put many public power projects out of business, and which would cripple the far-flung system of about 1,000 rural electric cooperatives.

Many millions of dollars yearly have been spent by private utilities in a national propaganda campaign attacking public power. If this tremendous effort had not been obstinately resisted by ECIC it is virtually certain that the "partnership policy" of the present Federal Administration would have removed the competition of low-cost public power, and private rates would have skyrocketed.

WHAT IT IS: What is this ECIC about which the public knows so little and to which it owes so much?

It is a loosely-organized committee representing farm and cooperative organizations, labor unions, and public power organizations, all with an intense interest in the production and distribution of electric energy at the lowest rates.

Actual membership in the ECIC numbers only 22 organizations. But a larger number contribute to its operating funds. According to its sixth annual report, 13 labor organizations contributed $22,855 to its treasury in the six years ended last June 30. Those contributing amounts of more than $1,000 each were: Committee on Political Education, $6,100; Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO, $6,000; United Automobile Workers, $5,600; United Papermakers & Paperworkers, $1,100; United Steelworkers, $2,200.

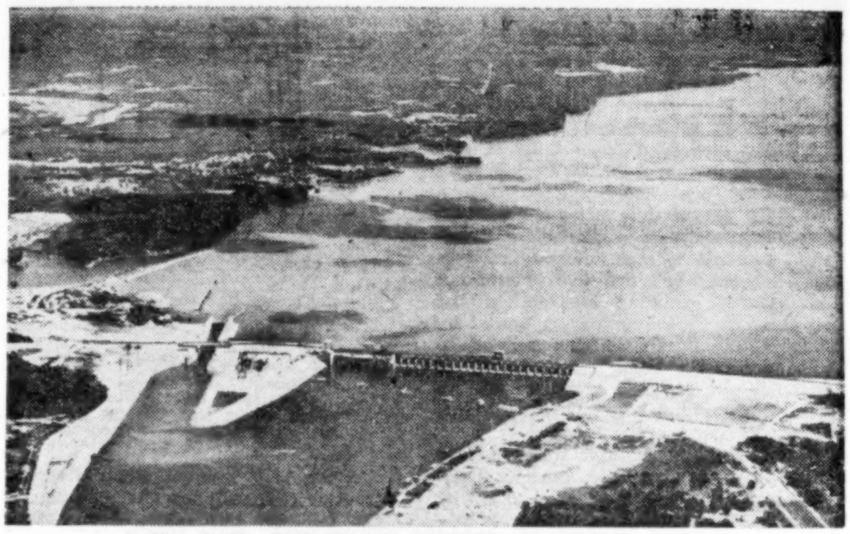
There were 15 farm and cooperative organizations which contributed $21,375. Those giving more than $1,000 each were the Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., $12,000; the Natl. Farmers Union, $4,500; the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., $2,000.

The public power organizations—6 of them—contributed $17,667. Contributions of more than $1,000 came from the Tennessee Valley Public Power Assn., $7,750; American Public Power Assn., $7,150; Citizens for TVA, Inc., $1,500.

HIGH STAKES: The stakes of many of these component organizations, of course, are enormous. The rural electric cooperatives throughout the U.S., for instance, own properties worth around $4 billion dollars, in which they have an equity of around $400,000,000 through amortization of government loans, frequently in advance of official schedules.

One public utility district in the State of Washington owns properties valued at more than $500,000,000.

This is what the private utilities call socialism and are fighting tooth and nail. This is what the people served by public power and cooperative power are defending as almost the only effective check they have upon the avarice of private power companies—and the political corruption which they breed.



A TVA DAM—THE GREAT SYMBOL OF PUBLIC POWER
It takes vigilance, work and money to keep private power out

There is nothing mysterious about the operation of ECIC, although comparatively few have been able to comprehend how it can yield so much influence. The fact is that it operates as a center for the exchange of information and ideas—and that is all. Many of its component groups act directly as lobbying organizations on their own, but not all of them.

A COMMON PURPOSE: However, the result of developing a common purpose and objective has an enormous effect, because of the nation-wide grassroots nature of the organizations involved. The Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. alone through its far-flung membership represents electric meters in some 4,000,000 farms and homes in nearly every state. The APPA membership includes some of the largest municipal power systems in the country with more millions of energy users. The labor unions, of course, reach still more millions.

Some of these organizations have top-rating attorneys upon their staffs, skilled in analyzing and drafting legislation.

They are true people's organizations, speaking for many millions. It is that fact, rather than the tiny budget of $61,897 in six years, which largely made it possible for them to hold the private utilities in check during an Administration in which private companies have been flagrantly aided by officialdom as they were in the Dixon-Yates deal.

The list of accomplishments in the public interest of ECIC is a long one. But the list of bills on public and atomic energy resources pending before the Congress today also is long. In connection with each bill there is conflict between the interests of energy consumers and the interests of private power. The sixth report of ECIC lists the electric energy issues now before Congress.

It will require all of the support the ECIC can muster in the next two years to hold the line for the consumer.

GE & Westinghouse

(Continued from Page 1)

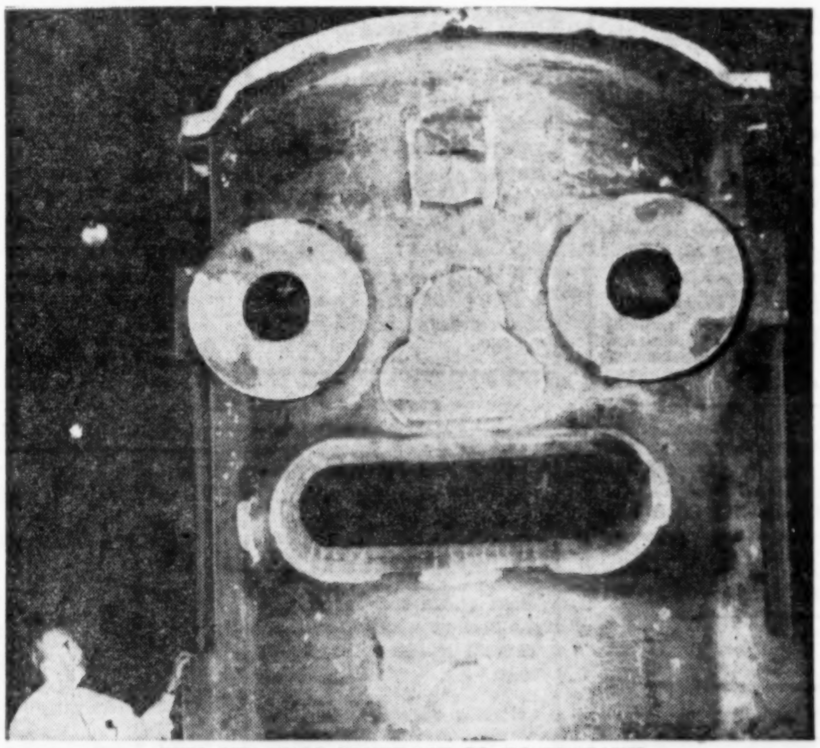
power authorities. Last month Los Angeles officials gave a $9,000,000 contract to a Swiss company. General Electric, which bid $14,000,000, took full-page ads appealing to the city's "patriotism" to keep the work on home soil.

"WE CHARGE . . .": To some, American business seemed often to be invoking "national security" to cover attempts to reap windfall profits. On March 23 the independent United Electrical Workers pointed the finger at General Electric and Westinghouse. In a letter to Congress, UE president Albert J. Fitzgerald said: "We charge that it is the deliberate, concerted profiteering policy of these two corporations . . . that is destroying the jobs of our members, gouging the public purse and limiting the demand for electrical equipment and appliances of all kinds by maintaining an uneconomic and unnecessarily high price for electric power to all users of electricity."

At issue was a contract for a 500,000 kilowatt steam turbo-generator awarded to C. A. Parsons & Co. of England by the Tennessee Valley Authority in February for its plant near Tuscumbia, Ala. Parsons bid $13,140,700; GE $19,673,780; Westinghouse said it could not do the job for less than $19,453,725. In addition, the American companies said their price would go up if unforeseen expenses arose and refused to sign a penalty clause for late delivery.

A UNION SLIDE-RULE: When the job went to Parsons, the American companies cried foul. They told their employes that the contract would have meant 600 to 700 jobs in one year. Cheaper labor costs, they said, enabled the English company to underbid them.

But when UE applied its slide-rule, it found that the companies had "deliberately" placed bids that would have given them a profit of more than 265%.



WHO LET THAT CONTRACT GO TO BRITAIN?
This mask-like structure is a steel shell for a GE turbine

Taking Westinghouse's statistic on the number of man-hours the job required, UE multiplied it by the average hourly wage rate for the field. Then it noted that American labor is almost 2½ times as productive as British because of advanced machinery and techniques. UE concluded that Parsons' labor costs were only $90,842 less than for GE or Westinghouse.

The union also pointed out that the English company had to account for $1,543,000 duty in its bid; and that TVA had agreed to give American companies 20% leeway over foreign competitors.

ATTACK ON TVA: The American companies said labor costs constituted 55 per cent of their bids. On this basis, UE concluded that GE and Westinghouse should have bid $5,341,090—$14,159,000 less than their actual offers.

Westinghouse said UE's charges were "absurd" and that "factory labor represents only a small part of the total employment costs." GE said the union's position was "pure fantasy."

The electric companies got an assist from the private utilities. A group of 80 power companies issued a joint release headlined: "TVA Prefers Foreign Labor." It began: "Thousands of American workers have been jobless because a government agency—TVA—didn't 'Buy American'."

UE called this an attempt to discredit public power. It noted that the private companies can pass on increased costs to the public, but TVA is judged by Congress on its economic efficiency. The union also questioned whether the divorce between the manufacturers of electric generating equipment and the power companies, as ordered by the government, had been fully effected.

AN ABUSED FLAG: Paul R. Sidler, president of the American branch of the Swiss Brown Boveri Corp., said: "It seems to me that when certain American firms, mightily waving the flag to obscure the real issues, attempt to enlist the power of the Federal government to completely monopolize the market they already dominate, things are getting out of hand and the concepts of patriotism and free enterprise are distorted and indeed abused."

To UE the issue was whether profiteering was keeping their members unemployed. In the last year Westinghouse has cut 16,000 workers from its payroll and GE has laid off more than 40,000 in two years. During this period both companies raised prices and netted record profits.

UE president Fitzgerald asked Congress to investigate why corporation profits have gone up as jobless rolls increase. He also urged passage of legislation for a 35-hour week and said the union would press at the bargaining table for a shorter work-week with no reduction in pay.

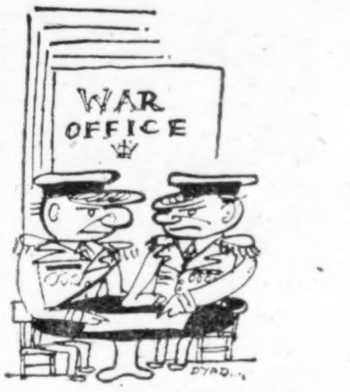
Summit prospects

(Continued from Page 1)

forces or observers along the access routes to West Berlin from West Germany. Both Moscow and London had previously envisaged some kind of role for the UN in guaranteeing West Berlin's status.

- Italy proposed a non-governmental East-West German commission which would promote increased trade and cultural ties between the two Germanys. This gradual drawing together of the two parts of Germany was supported by other NATO members; this seemed to indicate that the West had given up its insistence on German reunification by "free elections" but was not ready to accept a German confederation.
- Britain, Canada and Italy, among others, suggested possible zones in Central Europe in which weapons and troops might be "frozen" under adequate inspection. But they were pressured by the U.S. to link this to German reunification.

MENDES-FRANCE'S PLAN: In Paris, former Premier Mendes-France proposed for the Geneva conference a system of graduated zones of disengagement in Central Europe. To tackle the German problem with "a minimum of risks and a maximum chance of success" he suggested the establishment of three parallel zones on each side of the East-West point of contact: (1) a 30-mile-wide, totally disarmed Zone Zero, policed by UN contingents; (2) Zone One, flanking the disarmed zone on each side, occupied by only conventionally-armed national forces of the countries through which it passed; (3) Zone Two, behind the others, where NATO forces on one side and Soviet forces on the other side could be stationed with the most modern weapons.



Dyad, Daily Worker, London

"What right has Russia got to get out of Berlin?"

At the very moment when these constructive proposals were being made, the U.S. military leadership seemed determined to increase East-West tension. A case in point:

Although there is no written agreement, it has been customary for planes belonging to the Western forces to fly to West Berlin from West Germany below 10,000 feet altitude, leaving the higher altitude to Soviet planes. Nevertheless, a U.S. transport plane two weeks ago flew to West Berlin over East German territory above 10,000 feet altitude. Soviet planes buzzed the U.S. plane and Moscow warned Washington of possible air crash peril.

ACT OF "LUNACY": The London **Daily Mirror**—the paper with the largest circulation in Britain—condemned the flight as an act of "lunacy." **N.Y. Times** London correspondent Drew Middleton reported (April 3) that many British officials considered this "provocative" flight as evidence of the Pentagon's desire for a showdown with the Soviet Union rather than negotiation.

British newspapers were irritated and worried by the open rejection by NATO's top commander, U.S. Gen. Lauris Norstad, of disengagement in Central Europe and by statements by U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Gen. Twining and Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. White about the readiness of rocket bases in Britain. The **Daily Mirror** urged a leash for "meddling American generals." It said:

"They appear totally unconcerned at efforts by the statesmen—Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Khrushchev, President Eisenhower—to settle the future of the world round the conference table."

BEHIND THE SHOOTING: Despite the provocations, most observers believed a summit meeting was inevitable. They noted that UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold, after his recent talks with Khrushchev, said he found "a serious will to negotiate and to get somewhere" at the Big Four conference at Geneva. They agreed with **Times'** Washington bureau chief James Reston that, behind all the public muscle-flexing, "it is now fairly clear that both sides are getting ready not for a war . . . but for a truce based roughly on the present status quo."

However, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, they felt that American leadership was not "meeting the world situation in an imaginative and understanding way." They were worried by the conspicuous lack of leadership in Washington and U.S. failure to enlighten the public and curb the Pentagon.

Under the circumstances, while a summit meeting seemed to be in the cards, Washington's role at the summit appeared to remain obscure.

2-YEAR FIGHT WON

All charges dropped in the Jenkins case

ALL CHARGES OF sedition against Grady and Judy Jenkins of New Orleans, La., and their co-defendants have been dropped by state authorities. The State Supreme Court dismissed some of the charges in December, 1958, and in February state attorneys nolle prossed the remainder.

The Jenkinses were indicted in April, 1957, after having been called before a Senate investigating committee for their activities on behalf of desegregation.

The Louisiana Civil Liberties Committee entered a friend of the court brief in their behalf. They were also aided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Bill of Rights Fund. A committee organized in New York, with Anita Block as honorary chairman, coordinated the defense.

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Gracias

LA PLATA, ARGENTINA

We wish to thank you very much for the GUARDIAN issues sent regularly during this year, thus permitting to know a little about the progressives of America, the struggles of the Negroes and the firm advance of the socialist world.

A. M. Alvarez
J. J. Tortajada

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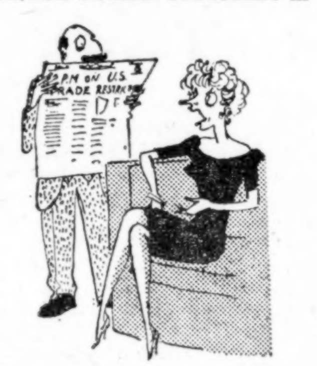
THE GALLERY

TO DR. ANDRE E. WEIL, chief of neurology and psychiatry at Huron Road Hospital in Cleveland, political radicals are so emotionally disturbed, they can be classified as sick. Marx and Engels, he notes, grew up hating their fathers. "Emotional disturbance," he says, "came first and then they tried to intellectualize it by choosing an economic philosophy." One case history he cites is a rich man's daughter who became a radical at college. "In interviews with her," Dr. Weil says, "I finally determined it all started in rivalry with her younger sister who was preferred by her father. She felt rejected by him and the family. She felt like an underdog and tried to find consolation in the society of underdogs." This could lead to a new organization for the Attorney General's list, the A.S.P.C.U.—American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Underdogs. Its slogan might be: Underdogs arise, you have nothing to lose but your leash! . . . From the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**'s report of Easter Sunday: "Attending church service at St. Bartholomew's were top-hatted Edward LaRoque Tinker and Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Burbank. Mrs. Burbank's hair was tinted a soft green to match her Easter bonnet."


P.M ON U.S TRADE RESTR

Wall Street Journal

"I note your antipathy to every thing foreign does not extend to Scotch whiskey and Havana cigars."

SCHOOL BOARD OFFICIALS in Levittown, Pa., voted on March 12 to change the name of a new high school under construction from J. Robert Oppenheimer to Woodrow Wilson. . . . The U.S. Supreme Court last month agreed to review a District Court decision dismissing an indictment against a businessman for labeling imported violins "made in Germany" instead of "Germany-USSR Occupied" . . . Heel of the Month award could go to Willie Whitney May who was arrested with his wife in Washington, D.C., on an intoxication charge. He paid $10 collateral for himself and went home leaving his wife to spend the night in jail . . . From the Newark **Star-Ledger**: "The Communists are flooding South America from Caracas to Cape Horn with dancing girls to spread their scourge of hate." The story was under the bylines of Horst Petzall and Paul Meskil . . . Headline in the N.Y. **Daily News** on March 1: "Libya Reds Riot." The story below read in its entirety: "Police used tear gas to break up anti-Communist demonstrations today."

LOGAN, WASH., CIVIL DEFENSE officials told city residents not to grow impatient because they have not yet had occasion to use the things they were urged to store in their home shelters . . . Sign on a remodeled brownstone in New York City: "First in Civilian Defense. Bomb & Fallout Shelter. Tenants' Privilege." . . . Washington is stamping "confidential" on all reports dealing with monkeys training for space flights. Rep. Moss (D-Cal.), chairman of the House Government Information Subcommittee, asked the Defense Dept. for an explanation but got none. He says he thinks it is because the Pentagon does not want to offend people in India who worship monkeys or those at home who complain of inhuman treatment of animals . . . Middlesex County, N.J., is planning to build a new civil defense disaster headquarters at the bottom of a gravel pit in Thompson Memorial Park. Headquarters will be a giant "H" made of 10-foot metal pipe lying five feet underground. Civil Defense county coordinator L. W. Livingston, who thought up the project, recommends similar pipes for home shelters. But, according to the New Brunswick **Sunday Home News,** he "admits being at a loss on ways to interest people in providing such a shelter."

UCLA ZOOLOGIST DR. RAYMOND B. COWLES told the Sixth Biennial Wilderness Conference in San Francisco on March 22 that over-population is wiping out the remnants of American wilderness. As a remedy, he proposed higher Federal income tax on parents. Tax deductions for children, he said, should be taken away from parents and given to childless couples . . . An advisory committee of physicians of the U.S. Public Health Service "has felt some concern" because live-virus polio vaccine tests were made by U.S. researchers on 2,000,000 people in Nicaragua, Colombia and the Belgian Congo in opposition to recommendations of the World Health Organization that small-scale tests should be done first . . . The March 12 issue of Paris **Express** was seized by authorities because it contained an interview with an Algerian nationalist leader. Paratroop Gen. Massu's wife suggested: "Stop such publications and the Algerian war will be finished." The **Express** answered: "We will suspend publication of such material for a month. But if after that the war is still going on—well, it will be necessary to seize Mme. Massu."

THE KING COUNTY LABOR COUNCIL of AFL-CIO unions rejoined the Seattle Chamber of Commerce last month. The council had quit the chamber last fall when the group endorsed a right-to-work proposal . . . Labor Undersecretary James T O'Connell told a college group: "Profit as a matter of conscience is a concept that ties our managers to the moral base of society and gives their efforts true meaning." . . . The American Automobile Assn. reports that 91.3% of Americans queried favor more tourist contact with the Soviet Union . . . Two Negro high school bands withdrew from a parade welcoming the Richmond, Va., professional baseball team on April 8 when it was learned that Negro fans would be segregated in outfield bleacher seats. Richmond is a farm team of the N.Y. Yankees.

—Robert E. Light

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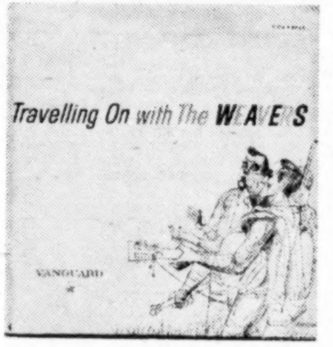
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the SPECTATOR

A walk in Togo

WE HAD DECIDED to travel together from Accra to Lomé in French Togoland. It had seemed the sensible thing under the circumstances. For one thing, we both had identical engagements; for another, the cost of transport being prohibitive, it appeared best to share a car.

At the Ghana passport control, we came up against our first difficulty. My companion, being American and not used to crossing borders every few hours, had failed to obtain his re-entry permit into Ghana. The passport control officer took a dim view of this oversight. My friend was too surprised to argue; I pleaded urgency.

The passport official was totally unimpressed. He would have to use his discretion, surely? Remembering the "discretion" which British immigration officials are entitled to use, I smiled feebly and hopelessly. However, having put us in our place, he decided suddenly and magnanimously to let us cross despite the missing document. Relieved, we passed on to Customs. No, we carried no dangerous drugs, no firearms, no ammunition. We took three steps into Togo, and were taken to French passport control.

THIS OFFICIAL, an affable Togolese, brought up two chairs and began a minute examination of our passports. As we were both in possession of visas for Togo, we expected no further delay. However, he fumbled about with my friend's passport for some time, meanwhile consulting a note tucked away among his records, which I attempted to read upside down. To my intense annoyance all I could make out was my friend's name, underlined in red (was that an omen?), the date, the word **merci** and an illegible signature.

After a while the control officer called one of the gendarmes and asked him, just loud enough for me to hear, to ring up **Sureté.** The telephone was an antique affair that did not seem to produce any tangible results.

After having processed a quite unsuspicious-looking English couple, our official again took up my friend's passport and his subordinate again attempted to operate the incredible telephone. By that time my patience was thin: I protested that we were expected for luncheon at the Prime Minister's—an innocent lie, since we were expected to dine there and I had begun to fear that at our rate we might well fail to make dinner. If there were any trouble, I suggested, he might ring the Prime Minister He smiled and assured me there was no trouble whatsoever, that, of course, he had no desire to disturb the Prime Minister.

CONSULTING HIS NOTE once more, he began to copy every written and printed word in my friend's passport, but finally and with great ceremony, stamped and returned it. At last, it was my turn. He examined my passport with increasing interest, remarking, "Madame travels much." As a journalist, I countered, that was almost a professional disease. "Madame is a journalist too?"

Going over my papers, he commended me for having filled them out so neatly—except for the fact that I had failed to put down the date of my marriage to Monsieur, but since Monsieur had already done so on his papers, it was obviously the same date.

The fact that we held passports of different nationalities and different names did not appear to disconcert him. I explained that I was not married to Monsieur. "Oh, my God," he exclaimed, "Monsieur is not your husband?" He went back to his notes where, I now realized, once again reading upside down, the long story of my friend's arrival in Lomé had been followed by the remark, "accompanied by his wife." It was after one o'clock by now and very hot, and we had to start all over again.

WHY WAS MONSIEUR not my husband, he wished to know, "il est beau," and handsome he was, indeed, tall, dark-skinned, with grey hair and finely chiseled features. The official eyed him with new respect. "But why not?" he insisted. Monsieur had a wife in the United States, I explained. "All the same," he retorted, "that makes only ONE wife?" It was the law there, I explained. "Such a pity," he replied. "Yes, a pity," I echoed. "I regret it infinitely, Madame," and I wondered whether he was sorry to have committed a faux pas or sorry rather for Monsieur who could only have one wife. "But it's nice this way too," he went on, "you are not married, but you're taking a bit of a walk?" He winked at Monsieur on whom, unhappily, through lack of knowledge of French, all this was lost.

In the end, we were allowed to enter the promised land of Togo.

AT THE HOTEL DE GOLFE they had a note from the Prime Minister to put us up. "The best double room we have," they assured me. When we demurred, Madame explained that in view of the advanced summer season, she was not giving us a double-bed but the only room with twin beds. When we still insisted on two separate rooms, they regarded us not only as raving mad but as wildly extravagant.

We wined and dined and talked into the night with our friend, the Prime Minister, who, in addition to all his other qualities, is one of the world's great hosts. Next day we even visited the Sureté—as we had to inquire about travel and visas further south.

To our intense surprise, the commissioner greeted us by name before we had had a chance to introduce ourselves. Either the ancient telephone had functioned after all or a little bird must have told him of our presence.

When we returned to Accra, we passed all frontier formalities in record time. The affable Togolese official shook hands and wished us bon voyage. "Did you have a nice walk?" he asked. "Good enough," I assured him. Au revoir, he smiled. Au revoir, we waved back. We'd come back to take another walk in Togo—soon.

—Ursula Wassermann